

that replaces the indigenous one was to be developed in order to give rise to the Jewish State. For this reason, the Jewish settlers were prohibited from exploiting the indigenous labor. Immigrant Jewish labor was mobilized to replace the native. The "conquest of Hebrew labor" became the incentive for Jewish proletarianization, equivalent in some ways to the "work ethic" in the United States settler-colonialism. Jewish proletarianization was also the result of generalizing the capitalist relations of production on the Jewish immigrant population alone, becoming both bourgeoisie and proletariat; but not on the native Palestinians, who were excluded even from proletarianization. The Palestinians were not meant exactly to be annihilated, as in the case of the American Indians; they were only to be denied the possibility of wage-earning. Emphasizing the imperative of exclusive Jewish proletarianization in Palestine, Borochoy said: "...any majority today which will not be able to reach naturally proletarianization, or that proletarianization is barred from it, will be increasingly expelled of its position to the point of death."¹¹ Does this imply that underlying the commitment to proletarian Zionism there was an a priori awareness of the detrimental repercussions it was to necessarily inflict on the native Palestinian producers? This question is to be kept in mind for a later discussion.

The central theme of this chapter is to illustrate how Jewish colonial settlement in Palestine, while implementing Labor-Zionism (hence, the generalization of the capitalist relations with regard to Jews alone in the form of exclusive Jewish proletarianization and capitalization), had blocked the proletarianization of the native Palestinians.

To this end, we identify three historical phases in Jewish colonial